



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

VOL. LXI.

BOSTON, MAY, 1899.

No. 5.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

PUBLISHERS,

NO. 3 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

MONTHLY, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
EDITORIALS	99-103
Irredeemable Barbarism—Roosevelt on the Strenuous Life—Military Government.	
EDITORIAL NOTES	103-109
Annual Meeting—Secretary's Absence—Delegates to The Hague—House in the Wood—John Morley's Letter—English Crusade Closes—Dr. Abbott's Boston Address—Fifth Tremont Temple Meeting—Crusade in Baltimore—Protest against Philippine Policy—Tolstoy's Letter—Cost of Aggression—Peace with Spain—A Soldier's Opinion—British Editors to Continental Press—Events in the Philippines—Peace Work in Worcester—Harvard-Princeton Debate.	
BREVITIES	109
In Gladstone's Day and Now, <i>Hezekiah Butterworth</i> .	110
Labor's Contribution to Peace, <i>Samuel Gompers</i> . . .	110
Women's Work for Peace	112
Development of the Peace Ideal, <i>Julia Ward Howe</i> .	112
Let us Demand the Uttermost, <i>Mary A. Livermore</i> .	113
Count Tolstoy's Opinion of the Czar's Conference. . .	115
The President's Opportunity	117
A Cruel Blow at Independence.	117
The Duty of America.	117

Irredeemable Barbarism.

Each war that comes along adds so much more proof—not a different kind, but so much more in quantity—that the evil can never be changed in character. War is “the business of hell”, as John Wesley said, and it cannot be made like heaven. It is “cruelty”, as General Sherman declared, and the cruelty can never be taken out of it. It is “the business of barbarians”, as Napoleon in a sane moment confessed, and when professedly civilized men engage in it, the barbarousness of it is not relieved but becomes all the more evident. Until warriors quit shooting, stabbing with the bayonet, throwing shrieking shells, rushing in furious charges, bombarding cities,—until the sinuous, lying arts of strategy are abandoned, and hate and vengeance are dead, war will remain in essence, so long as any of it remains at all, the same brutal thing that it has

always been. Take all these away, and you will have civilized war—out of existence.

A little while ago we were writing of the ghastly horrors on the shattered and burning Spanish war-ships at the battles of Manila and Santiago. But America shut her eyes and said it was all right because *she* had done it. Then came the story of the merciless mowing down of the Dervishes in the Soudan by General Kitchener's troops, and the wholesale killing of the wounded on the battlefield of Omdurman. A part of England, a very small part, confounded and humiliated, uttered a low cry of shame and protest. But that was all. England said it was all right, magnificent, glorious! It was done for righteousness' sake! And the low cry of shame and protest in which the voice of God was heard was stifled by the great cry of imperial selfishness going up throughout the land. It is hard to believe in God, to believe in civilization, to believe in anything good, in the presence of such exhibitions in His name. If God is in them, inspiring them,—but He is not in them. He must be sought elsewhere. It is by other agencies, despised and rejected of men, that He is working out the foundations of His kingdom in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, and one of these days all these “glorious” American and British deeds of blood will be burned up as trash and never mentioned again to all eternity.

In the Philippines civilization has lost its intelligence, its conscience, its heart. It has reverted to pure barbarism. It is hard to look at the cold facts in the case, as they are becoming known through several channels, and not sympathize with the poor soldier,—out there against his will, doing deeds at the command of the government, of his “superiors”, the blackness of which he will never be able to efface from his soul—who writes home to his family

that he is "ashamed that he is an American." The war itself, brought on by a policy of aggression, is black enough, even if none of the reports are true about the killing of non-combatants, and the "taking of no prisoners." But the proofs of these deeds are too many and too circumstantial to leave any doubt about the essential correctness of the reports, except in the minds of those who are determined to see nothing but good in it all, even if the American forces kill all the natives and burn to ashes every village in the islands.

The whole story is an appalling one, and the time will come when America would give her right hand to be able to blot out the remembrance of the crime and dishonor of it. The chief degradation of it is not that of the men who under orders are killing prisoners, and non-combatants, burning every village they can get at, recklessly shelling every inhabited or uninhabited spot along the shore where a Filipino soldier is suspected to be in hiding. The real degradation is that of the spirit of a great and mighty nation which is too false to itself and too cowardly to rise up and confess the wrong and insist that it shall be at once righted, so far as that is now possible.

Roosevelt on the Strenuous Life.

A friend writes us thus in reference to Governor Roosevelt's speech, delivered in Chicago on April 10th: "It seems to me that it is thoroughly tinctured with dangerous virus. Governor Roosevelt ought to have lived about five hundred years ago. He is a survival of the militant stage of civilization. . . . The whole spirit of his address is pernicious. It is dangerous to all the best interests to have such a man as this stirring up the militant passions of the youth of our land. Is it only in war and battle that there are chances of living a strenuous life? And, then, his advice to black-list the men who do not support militarism, who differ from his extravagant military schemes, is a most outrageous assault upon individual liberty, the right of free debate. It is the application of the policy of intimidation and boycott to our public life."

Nobody can deny that Mr. Roosevelt's Chicago speech was brilliant and in a way powerful. The adroitness of its appeal to the selfish passions, which are most easily aroused, was masterful. The enthusiasm evoked by it was of that wild kind which only such an appeal ever awakens. It was interlarded with enough excellent sentiments, enough exhortation to civic honesty and advocacy of "never wronging one's neighbor", to give it an enticing flavor of conscience. But, on the whole, it was one of the most mischievous speeches delivered in this country in recent years, as the writer of the letter above quoted from indicates.

In the first place, the whole speech was built up upon misrepresentation. The friends of peace are not preachers of "the doctrine of ignoble ease", as he slanderously insinuates that they are. They do not "shrink from danger, from hardship or from bitter toil", nor do they advise others to do so. "Timid peace", "ignoble counsels of peace", "prattlers who sit at home in peace", are expressions having no meaning when applied to them. Peace is not synonymous with laziness, sensuality, cowardice, fear. The friends of peace do shrink from butchering their fellowmen, from burning and laying waste property, from the promiscuous destruction of women and children, from the hatred and furiousness evoked by battle, from the loathsome pollutions of camp life, from the vulgarity and profanity of the mêlée of fighting which the Governor of New York knows all about, from crushing the hearts and hopes out of their fellowmen by the awful strain laid upon them and their homes by war requisitions. They abhor these things as heroically as Mr. Roosevelt seems to welcome them. But they advocate, as earnestly as he or anyone else, "the necessity of working for a livelihood", of "carrying on some kind of non-remunerative work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in historical work—work of the type we most need in this country, the successful carrying out of which reflects most honor upon the nation." They go beyond this, and urge and practice, some in one way, some in another, heroic self-sacrifice for the good of others in every quarter of the globe. Not one of them advocates that we should "be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond." But they are opposed to the militaristic rot and gangrene also. They all shrink from contemning, misrepresenting, wronging, robbing other, even weak, peoples. They shrink from Quixotic "adventure", from conquest by violence, from the satanic practice of going about like roaring lions seeking whom they may devour. But they take the largest interest in their neighbors—not to ride boot and spur over them, but to help them and to respect and promote their rights. They are unwilling to "undertake the problem of governing the Philippines", not because of the "trouble and expense", but because it is unspeakably wicked to do it as it is being done. They believe in "playing a great part in the world", but they want this done in at least a half Christian and American way. Governor Roosevelt knows that what he says about those whom he styles "silly humanitarian prattlers who sit at home in peace" is the baldest misrepresentation. He ought never to open his mouth about honesty again until he repents of this great slander on which his speech is built up.

There is something amazing in the cool effrontery